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1. Ποιεῖν.
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THE growth of the idea of sacrifice in connection with the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is not only an interesting subject of investigation for the historical student, but it is also one of the greatest importance to the Christian believer. I propose to trace the history of this growth during the three following marked periods: (1) to the age of Cyprian; (2) to Gregory the Great; (3) to the Council of Trent.

It is necessary, in the first place, to have a clear idea of the meaning of *sacrifice*, and especially as it was understood by the Jews in the days of our Lord. Various definitions of the word have been given in later times by theologians, to suit their respective opinions; but we must look for the right meaning to scriptural instruction.

The Old Testament Scriptures, therefore, describe a sacrifice under the four following particulars :—

1. It is a thing offered or rendered up to God, or the act of offering or rendering it up to Him.

2. The thing offered is either visible and material, or invisible and spiritual—visible and material, as a lamb ; invisible and spiritual, as praise.¹ And the act of offering is either visible and ceremonial, or invisible and spiritual, as the offering itself.

3. The material thing offered is not anything whatsoever indifferently, but one or more of certain things presented by Divine appointment.

4. The thing offered as a material sacrifice is slain, if it be a living thing ; or, if an inanimate thing, the “ memorial ”² of

¹ Ps. xxvii. 6 ; l. 23 ; Jer. xvii. 26 ; Ps. cvii 22 ; cxvi. 17.

² Lev. ii. 2, 12.

it was burnt, and the whole was thus an offering to the Lord made by fire.¹ In both cases, life or being was destroyed.²

Such were the conceptions of sacrifice which the Apostles possessed on the night of the institution of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Now let us consider what took place on that occasion, and endeavour to realize the impressions made upon the minds of the disciples there assembled. The occasion was a feast upon a sacrifice—the joyous commemoration of national deliverance. The festival itself was not a sacrifice, though the blessings, and thanksgivings, and hymns of praise which attended the anniversary were truly invisible and bloodless sacrifices. The partakers of the feast occupied a recumbent position, as became men rejoicing in their freedom, and as expressive of their

¹ Lev. i. 2, 10, 14.

² *Vid.* Vogan, "Doctrine of Eucharist."

equality and liberty.¹ At such a time as this the Lord Jesus instituted His own special feast, and distributed the same to His recumbent disciples. The latter undoubtedly understood that their old Pass-over commemoration was henceforth to be superseded by this new service. They also perceived the cessation of the material offerings of the Old Dispensation, and the inauguration of the New Covenant of love and fellowship, as well in its human as in its Divine relations.

But it is pertinent to ask how did this institution strike them with reference to their accustomed ideas of sacrifice? Did they look upon our Lord's action as a sacrifice which they, also, were to perform ; or, as the sign of a sacrifice which they were ever to keep in memory, and upon which they were to feast with joyous thanksgiving? The facts and circum-

¹ Edersheim, "The Temple," p. 201.

stances of the occasion afford a satisfactory answer. That upper room was no place of sacrifice. It had no altar of sacrifice. It was a time unlawful for sacrifice. The reclining posture of those joining in the meal was no posture of sacrifice. The Lord Jesus offered no words of sacrifice other than the blessings and thanksgivings which the president of the Passover feast was accustomed to offer, as invisible, reasonable, spiritual sacrifices.¹ The disciples, therefore, Jews as they were, could not possibly regard the Lord's action as a sacrifice of Himself then made. The inspired, as well as the uninspired, records, which soon appeared leave no doubt about it in any impartial mind. This is also confirmed by the discussions which took place in the Council of Trent, 1562, when the Fathers and Divines were equally divided in opinion, and the contrary

¹ *Vid.* Dr. Stephens's argument in Bennett case.

opinion was carried, in spite of powerful arguments on the other side, chiefly by the intrigues of the Jesuit Salmeron, who feared for the doctrine of the Mass Sacrifice, as then commonly understood. But it is worth observing that they did not describe the sacrifice as *propitiatory*.¹

The Acts of the Apostles show that the disciples connected this new service with their daily meal, and described it as, or

¹ Sarpi, "Hist. of Council of Trent," pp. 518, 519 (Brent's trans. : London, 1676). The Anglican divines of the seventeenth century deny that our Lord offered any sacrifice of Himself in the Supper. It should be observed that the decision of the Trentine Council is contrary to the statement of the old Canon of the Mass in the Latin Church, which gives our Lord's words about His blood-shedding in the *future* tense, *effundetur*. Attention is drawn to this by the learned Romanist Picherellus, who also says that "it is nowhere read that Christ sacrificed to God in the Supper, and commanded that we, by this example, should sacrifice for the remission of sins" ("Quod autem Christus in Cœna Deo sacrificaverit, jusseritque ut hoc exemplo in remissionem peccatorum sacrificaremus, nullibi legitur."—"De Missa.")

included in it, "the breaking of bread."¹ Surely such a description is wholly inadequate, if they understood the Divine Institution to be in itself an expiatory sacrifice. How soon these common meals received the name of "a feast of Love"—Agape—it is impossible to say, but they are so named in the Epistle of St. Jude,² and are referred to by St. Paul.³ It is asserted by Dr. Wordsworth, Bishop of Salisbury, that the Eucharist must have borne for a time the name of Agape.⁴ It is certain that for a long period of time the celebration of our Lord's memorial took place during these assemblies, and usually at the close;⁵ and though the words "Communion" and "Lord's Supper"

¹ Acts ii. 46 ; xx. 7, 11 ; 1 Cor. x. 16 ; Cf. Bp. Wordsworth, "The Holy Communion," p. 30.

² Ver. 12.

³ 1 Cor. xi. 20-22.

⁴ "The Holy Communion," p. 41.

⁵ Ibid., 60, 77, 80 ; "Canons of Hippolytus," sect. 4.

had been used by St. Paul¹ with reference to it, the name Agape predominated till, at least, the first quarter of the second century. Ignatius so uses it in his Epistle to the Smyrnæans.²

It is evident, therefore, from the character of these assemblies, and the predominance of the name Agape, that the primitive Christians regarded their Divine Master's memorial service as a new Paschal Supper, in which they received something from God, and in which they offered no gift to Him except their hymns of praise and thanksgiving. If they believed that it was instituted to be a propitiatory sacrifice, requiring a *sacerdotium* for its due performance, then it is strange, passing strange, that not a hint is given of this most momentous doctrine by the writers of the

¹ I Cor. x. 16; xi. 20.

² Cap. 7, συνέφερεν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀγαπῶν ἵνα καὶ ἀναζῶσιν : cap. 8, οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν.

New Testament, or by those of the sub-Apostolic Age, or by the Fathers of later centuries. "Surely," said the late Cardinal Newman, "it is too momentous, too awful a gift, to be transmitted in silence. It constitutes a new religion. It is the formal cause, the constituting rite, of the Catholic Church: where it is not, there is no Church."¹

If there be such a gift, *it has been transmitted in silence*; for there is not a vestige of it in the New Testament, or in any of the primitive records.²

¹ Preface to Hutton's "The Anglican Ministry."

² St. Paul describes the ministerial officers of the Church as apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers (Eph. iv. 11). These, he says, were given by the ascended Saviour for a *definite purpose*, viz. "the *perfecting* of the saints, the work of the ministry, the edifying of the body of Christ" (ver. 12). There is no mention here of a sacrificing priesthood, so "momentous," "so awful," so essential to the existence of a Church, according to Cardinal Newman's opinion. If St. Paul believed in such a *sacerdotium*, surely this is the place where he would have mentioned the fact. His silence, in

But it should not be forgotten that the first Christians, both Jews and Gentiles, were imbued with the idea and associations of sacrifice. And the same fact holds good with regard to the pagan philosophers and other prominent men who, in later times, submitted to Christianity, and held high positions in the Church, as Athenagoras, Clement of Alexandria, Cyprian, and Ambrose. They had been accustomed to approach the Divinity by means of external sacrifice. When, therefore, the ancient forms were discarded, the ancient name of sacrifice was applied to the new ways of approaching God. The word "sacrifice" was accordingly a common expression among Christians,

a passage dealing specially with the functions and purposes of the Church's divinely appointed officers, is the strongest protest conceivable against the mediæval sacerdotal view of the ministerial office consequent of the accretions to the primitive doctrines of the Holy Eucharist.

and was applied to every action of the religious life.¹ "Believers," says St. Peter, "are a holy priesthood, to offer up *spiritual sacrifices*, acceptable to God;"² and in various parts of the New Testament these spiritual sacrifices are described as consisting of *praise*,³ of *faith*,⁴ of *alms-giving*,⁵ of *devotion of the body*,⁶ of *the conversion of unbelievers*,⁷ and such like. It is well to observe in passing that, according to St. Peter, "spiritual sacrifices" are the only ones the holy priesthood is to

¹ *Vid.* "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," ch. xiv. : Κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ Κυρίου * συναχθέντις κλάσατε ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσατε προσ-εξομολογησάμενοι τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν ὄσως καθαρὰ ἡ θοσία ὑμῶν.

² 1 Pet. ii. 5.

³ Heb. xiii. 15.

⁴ Phil. ii. 17.

⁵ Acts xxiv. 17; Phil. iv. 18; Heb. xiii. 16.

⁶ Rom. xii. 1.

⁷ Rom. xv. 16.

* "On the Lord's day of the Lord, having gathered together, break bread and give thanks, confessing your sins, that your sacrifice may be pure." The word "sacrifice" is evidently not applied to anything *objective*, for it is manifestly *subjective* in meaning.

offer up. The expression leaves no room for any other kind. It is, therefore, impossible to imagine a meeting of Christians for common worship without such sacrifices mentioned above. These, also, they named in their prayers, and presented to the Almighty Father for His gracious acceptance.

The glimpses of the early Christian communities, during the first century, are, outside the covers of the New Testament, very limited. The epistle attributed to Barnabas, of which only a Latin version remains, and that of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians, are the chief sources of information ; and there is nothing in either of them to show any change of doctrine. The former, writing about A.D. 71, speaks of the ancient sacrifices as having been made void by God in order to bring in the human oblation of the new law of the Lord Jesus Christ, and this he proceeds to

explain as the sacrifice of a broken and contrite heart, referring to Psalm li. 17. Clement's Epistle was penned nearly a quarter of a century later. He uses the word *oblation*, and speaks of the episcopal function of *offering the gifts*—expressions which competent critics refer to the Eucharist as a *very probable* explanation of their use. He also speaks very frequently of *sacrifices* as the obligations of Christians. Here, then, we have *sacrifices, gifts, oblations, or offerings*, in close connection. But what are these sacrifices? and in what sense are the presbyters said to have presented or offered the gifts? An answer to the former question is found in parallel passages of the Epistle, where Clement, like Barnabas, dwells upon “the sacrifice of a troubled spirit;” “the sacrifice of praise;” the sacrifice of prayer;” “the giving of thanks;” in short, the devotion of body, soul, and spirit to God.

And this devotion, on its practical side, affords an answer to the second question. Every member of the Church, even the poorest, brought some offering to the weekly assembly,¹ and presented it to the bishop, or president, as a contribution for the common feast, or for holy uses, or for some other special object; and God's acceptance and blessing were sought for every one's oblation.² Clement, referring to the presbyters offering the gifts, plainly means, as the late Bishop Lightfoot explains, that, "they led the prayers and thanksgivings of the congregation; they presented the alms and contributions to God, and asked His blessing on them in the name of the whole body."³ In addition to these functions, they selected from the offertory bread and wine for the

¹ Cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 2.

² This custom is retained in our Coronation Service.

³ Epistle of St. Clement to the Corinthians.

commemoration of the Lord's Passion, and, after presenting them also for God's blessing, gave them back to the people as Divine food.

Clement affords us no further information upon this subject, so that, up to the end of the first century, there is no testimony of any change of doctrine with respect to the Lord's Supper.

Here I desire to call attention to the common use, by the Fathers early and late, of the verb *προσφέρειν*, "to offer," in connection with Christian sacrifice. By itself it is not a sacrificial term. In the Septuagint it is generally used of the people's act of bringing offerings, rarely of the action of ministers. In the New Testament it is the commonest word for "to offer," or "to present,"¹ and so it is used by Justin Martyr to express the act of the deacons

¹ Brightman, "Eastern Liturgies," glossary of technical terms.

presenting bread and wine to the president. So general was the use of this verb, that the act of communicating or administering the Eucharist was in Church language described as "to offer."¹

By the middle of the second century we find, in the writings of Justin Martyr, the Eucharist spoken of under the name of *sacrifice* or *sacrifices*.² If the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" appeared before his time, as Bishop Wordsworth thinks,³ the word *sacrifice* or *sacrifices* must have been used commonly in this sense for a considerable period; but they by no means imply material offerings of propitiation. *Oblation* and *sacrifice* were at this time used synonymously. The offerings of the people were, as I have already stated, the visible proofs or signs of their invisible devotional spirit, and might

¹ *Vid.* Waterland, vol. vii. p. 27.

² *Id.*, vii. 36.

³ "The Holy Communion," p. 8.

properly be called, according to the laws of language, by the name of that which they signified. The invisible condition of the soul was a spiritual sacrifice, which, without question, might give its name to the visible sign. That these offerings were called *sacrifices* is shown in the Bidding Prayers of the Apostolical Constitutions: "Let us pray for those that make oblations in the holy Church and give arms to the poor. Let us pray for those that offer their sacrifices and first-fruits to the Lord our God; that the most gracious God would reward them with heavenly gifts, and restore them a hundred-fold in this world, and grant them everlasting life in the world to come; giving them heavenly things for their earthly, and for their temporal things those that are eternal."¹ St. Cyprian asks a rich woman how she could think she celebrated the

¹ Bingham, lib. xv. cap. l.

Lord's Supper, who had no respect to the Corban; or how she could come into the Lord's House without a sacrifice, and eat part of the sacrifice which a poor person had offered."¹ St. Augustine also said "that a man of ability ought to blush if he has communicated of another man's oblation, and therefore he exhorts every one to bring their own oblations to be consecrated at the altar."² Similar illustrations are found in the ancient liturgies. Here is one, as a specimen, from the Liturgy of St. Mark: "Accept, O God, by Thy ministering Archangels at Thy holy, heavenly, and reasonable altar in the spacious heavens, the thank-offerings of those who offer sacrifices, offerings, and of those who desire to offer much or little, in secret or openly, but have it not to give. Accept the offerings of those who have presented them this day, as thou

¹ Bingham, lib. xv. cap. 2. ² Id., lib. xv. cap. 2.

didst accept the gifts of Thy righteous Abel," etc.¹

Of special interest is the illustration of the opening prayer in the "The Canon of the Mass:" "We therefore humbly pray and beseech Thee, most merciful Father, through Jesus Christ Thy Son, our Lord, that thou wouldst vouchsafe to accept and bless these gifts, these presents, these holy unspotted sacrifices."²

Justin Martyr is quoted by those who

¹ This Prayer in "the Thanksgiving" is said after the "the Prayer of Oblation."

² *Vid.* "Canons of Hippolytus," in *Guardian*, Feb. 12, 1896. In the Western Church the laity, men and women, still continued in the ninth century to offer bread and wine, and in much larger quantities than was wanted for consecration. Amalarius, who spread a knowledge of the Roman ritual in Gaul in the ninth century, reproves persons for not making offerings, and says that by such conduct they confess that they do not keep Christ's passion in remembrance. He also says, "All the people entering the Church ought to offer sacrifice to God" (*vid.* Bishop Wordsworth, "Holy Communion," pp. 121, 122). The practice continued to comparatively late times in many parts of the West (*vid.* Bingham, lib. xv. cap. 2).

advocate a *material sacrifice* in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper in favour of their view. His language, on the face of it, seems to afford grounds for such an opinion ; but, unless he is to be charged with gross inconsistency, his meaning is different. Referring to the prophecy of Mal. i. 10-12, he calls the bread and cup of the Eucharist the sacrifices which are offered to God in every place by the Gentiles ;¹ but, in a later part of the same book, he alludes to the prophet's words as "the sacrifices which Jesus the Christ enjoined us to offer, that is, *in the Eucharist* (or thanksgiving—ἐπὶ τῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου) of the bread and the cup."² How are these different statements to be reconciled ? The key of the solution is to be sought in what he says elsewhere, coupled with what has been already established with regard to the offerings of the

¹ Dial. c. Try., cap. 41.

² Id., c. 117.

people : and the meaning of the Lord's command. In the "Apology," Justin writes : "We have received by tradition that God does not need the material offerings which men can give, seeing, indeed, that He Himself is the provider of all things." ¹

In the "Dialogue" he says "that prayer and giving of thanks, when offered by worthy men, are the only perfect and well-pleasing sacrifices to God, I also admit. For such alone have Christians received to offer, even in the remembrance effected by their solid and liquid food, whereby the suffering of the Son of God, which He endured, is brought to mind." ² Here he definitely and distinctly excludes material offerings, and states absolutely that prayers and giving of thanks are the *only* perfect and well-pleasing sacrifices, and that *these alone* are offered in the memorial of the Lord's passion. It is clear, therefore, that

¹ Apol., i. c. 10.

² Dial. c. Try., 117.

when he calls the bread and cup of the Eucharist "sacrifices," he is using a figure of speech, metonymy, which I have shown to be common among Christians. The above quotations also explain the expression, "the sacrifices which Jesus the Christ enjoined us to offer," that is, take bread, bless, give thanks, break, distribute, and eat it in remembrance of Him; and the cup in like manner—the whole of the actions, bear in mind, making up a Christian sacrifice. The prayers and thanksgivings, incidental to such an obedient service, were also included in the sacrifices understood by Justin, and which, in later times, gave the title of "Eucharistic Sacrifice" to this commemoration. It is important to remember the latter fact, for the name is frequently perverted from its spiritual meaning to imply an external, visible, material offering.¹

¹ The Roman Catholic theologian, Melchior Canus,

In comparatively modern times attempts have been made to give a sacrificial meaning to Justin's use of *ποιεῖν*. Scholars see in such an attempt the confession of a very weak cause—the clutching of a drowning man at straws. Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Smyrnæans, uses the same verb with an object, “love-feast” (*ἀγάπην ποιεῖν*), *i.e.* to hold, or make, a love-feast; so if Justin's *ἄρτον ποιεῖν* is to be construed “to offer bread” in sacrifice, the expression of Ignatius might also be rendered “to offer a love-feast” sacrificially. The absurdity of the thing is its own refutation. It suffices to say that the sacrificial interpretation of *ποιεῖν* was first started

says, “For to give thanks after the Jewish manner, and take the cup into his hands and lift it up, is truly to offer a sacrifice of Thanksgiving. When Christ, therefore said, ‘Do this,’ he plainly commanded His apostles, that what they saw Him do, they should do also, by offering up a sacrifice of Eucharist, that is, of giving of thanks” (*vid.* Gibson, “Preservative against Popery,” p. 70).

by some obscure writers in the sixteenth century ; and that there is a vast consensus of divines, Roman and Protestant, against such an interpretation. Certainly no ancient Father has been found who takes *ποιεῖτε* of the Gospel to mean "sacrifice" or "offer ;" and no such rendering has been forthcoming from any ancient Version, or any ancient Liturgy.¹

A generation later than Justin brings us to the times of the converted philosopher, Athenagoras. In his "Plea for the Christians" he writes : "The Framer and Father of this Universe does not need blood, or the odour of burnt-offerings, or the fragrance of flowers and incense . . . but the noblest sacrifice to Him is that we might know who stretched out and vaulted the Heavens, etc., . . . and lift up holy hands to Him. . . . What have I to

¹ Cf. Dimock, "The Eucharist considered in its Sacrificial Aspect," p. 20. See Appendix.

do with burnt-offerings which God has no need of? But it is meet to offer a bloodless sacrifice, and to present the rational service.”¹

Here we have evidence of the continued use of the expression amongst Christians of offering sacrifice; but it is also clear that its meaning was understood to be the spiritual sacrifices of prayers and purity of life—offerings which were free from blood and consistent with reason.

There are two important and suggestive expressions used by this Father which are not found in previous patristic writings, viz. “bloodless sacrifice” and “the rational service.” The latter phrase was most probably copied from St. Paul’s Epistle to the Romans (xii. 1). They became very popular, as we may see from their use by later writers, and especially by their frequent appearance together in all the

¹ Cap. 13. Cf. Waterland, p. 360.

ancient liturgies. It is well, then, to notice here, on their first appearance, that Athenagoras used them as synonymous. It is also of moment to observe that he did not apply the expression "unbloody sacrifice" particularly to the Eucharist, but to spiritual and reasonable service in general; and this same use and meaning are employed by the Fathers of the fourth century, as we shall see presently.

Contemporary with Athenagoras was Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons. His references to the Eucharist are not only more lucid than those of previous writers, but they are also important as witnesses of the common belief of both Eastern and Western Christendom at the end of the second century, because his early manhood was associated with Polycarp in Asia Minor, and his latter days were spent as a Western bishop. He contrasts the sacrifices of the Old and New Dispensa-

tions, calling the former *typical* and the latter *true*. According to him, "the true sacrifice" was that of the contrite heart, thus repeating the teaching of Barnabas and Clement of Rome; and this he amplifies by the addition of *faith, obedience, righteousness, the sacrifice of praise*, etc., quoting passages from the Old and New Testaments in illustration.¹

He, like Justin Martyr, refers to the prophecy of Malachi, and explains the "incense" to be "the prayers of the saints," as stated in the Apocalypse.² The "pure offering" of that prophecy he applies to the bread and wine of the Eucharist—"the firstfruits of God's created things," as he calls them,³—and this oblation of the Church, he says, "is accounted with God a pure sacrifice, and is acceptable with Him."⁴ But he proceeds to explain why

¹ Iren., lib. iv. c. 17.

² Rev. v. 8.

³ Iren., lib. iv. c. 17.

⁴ Ibid., c. 18.

it is so accounted a pure sacrifice. The material oblation of itself is worthless apart from the state of heart of those who offer it. It is the pure conscience of the offerer, he declares, that makes the sacrifice pure and acceptable ; and because "the Church offers with single-mindedness, her gift is justly reckoned a pure sacrifice with God. As Paul also says to the Philippians, 'I am full, having received from Epaphroditus the things that were sent from you, the odour of a sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, pleasing to God.' For it behoves us to make an oblation to God, and in all things to be found grateful to God our Maker, in a pure mind, and in faith without hypocrisy, in well-grounded hope, in fervent love, offering the firstfruits of His own created things. And the Church alone offers this pure oblation to the Creator, offering to Him, with giving of thanks, from His creation. But the Jews

do not offer thus ; for their hands are full of blood. . . . Now we make offering to Him, not as though He stood in need of it, but rendering thanks for His gift, and thus sanctifying what has been created. For even as God does not need our possessions, so do we need to offer something to God ; as Solomon says, ‘ He that hath pity upon the poor, lendeth unto the Lord.’ For God, who stands in need of nothing, takes our good works to Himself for this purpose, that He may grant us a recompense of His own good things, as our Lord says, ‘ Come, ye blessed children,’ etc.¹ As, therefore, He does not stand in need of these (services), yet does desire that we should render them for our own benefit, lest we be unfruitful ; so did the Word give to the people that very precept as to the making of oblations, although He stood in no need of them, that they might

¹ Matt. xxv. 34, etc.

learn to serve God: thus is it, therefore, also His will that we, too, should offer a gift at the altar, frequently and without intermission. The altar, then, is in heaven, for towards that place are our prayers and oblations directed.”¹

It is plain from this passage, to any unprejudiced critic, that “the oblation of the Church”—“the pure offering”—was not the bread and wine in themselves, but the gratitude, thanksgiving, devotion, inward purity with which by these gifts God’s goodness was recognized. These spiritual conditions, together with the exercise of benevolence and personal services to the needy, constituted the pure offering—the new oblation of the new Covenant,—and this was put in contrast with the impure offerings of the Jews under the old Covenant, “whose hands were full of blood.” The allusion (the first in patristic

¹ *Iren.*, lib. iv. cap. 18.

writings) to the heavenly altar excludes a material sacrifice below, inasmuch as there is not, according to Irenæus, any terrestrial place of sacrifice. The material oblation, besides, did not partake of the nature of a proper sacrifice. Not a particle of it was destroyed in God's immediate service, or separated as a Divine portion. The whole of it was for man's appropriation.

The idea of a heavenly altar was frequently used by succeeding Christian writers, and in process of time was included in most of the ancient liturgies, oftentimes with the epithet *mystical*. The expression "pure offering or sacrifice," in reference to the unconsecrated elements, was similarly treated.

Egypt furnishes the next witness on this subject in the person of Clement of Alexandria, and with him we have the teaching of the Church in the early part of the third century. He makes no direct

application of the word "sacrifice" to any part of the Eucharistic service, but he freely uses it to express the spiritual condition and religious services of holy men. "The contrite heart" is, with him, like all previous Fathers, the most acceptable sacrifice to God; and he adds to this, as acceptable offerings, *meekness, philanthropy, exalted piety, humility, sound knowledge*. Prayer with righteousness he declares to be the best and holiest sacrifice offered to the most righteous Word. This, in fact, he defines to be the Christian sacrifice. "The sacrifice of the Church," he says, "is speech exhaled as incense from holy souls, while the whole mind, together with the sacrifice, is laid open before God."¹ No doubt he includes under the word "speech," *prayers, lauds, reading of the Scriptures, psalms, hymns*, which he mentions shortly after this definition.

¹ Strom., lib. vii. cap. 6.

He is the first to speak of a *terrestrial* altar, but he does so in a metaphorical sense. He explains it as "the congregation of those who devote themselves to prayers, having, as it were, one common voice and one mind." He adds, further, "that the righteous soul is the truly holy altar, and that incense rising from it is holy prayer."¹

In the face of these declarations, it may be reasonably assumed that these Christian sacrifices would find in combination their best and highest expression in the celebration of the Lord's Memorial, and so transfer by metonymy their name to that sacred service; but it is clear that Clement could not regard the Memorial in itself as the sacrifice of the Church.

Far to the west of Egypt, in the Church of North Africa, Tertullian, the first of the Latin Fathers, is at one with his

¹ Strom., lib. vii. c. 6.

contemporary, Clement, on the doctrine of Christian sacrifice. Out of his many references to this subject, two or three quotations must suffice. "That we ought not to offer unto God earthly but spiritual sacrifices, we learn from what is written: 'the sacrifice (*hostia*) of God is a humble and contrite heart;' and elsewhere, 'sacrifice to God the sacrifice of praise, and pay thy vows unto the Most High.' So, then, the spiritual sacrifices of praise are here pointed to, a troubled spirit is declared to be the sacrifice acceptable to God."¹

Here it is interesting and instructive to observe how general and prevalent was the Psalmist's sacrificial idea of "the troubled spirit." Tertullian, like Justin Martyr and Irenæus, refers to the prophecy of Malachi, and we have to thank him for an explicit interpretation of the "pure offering" there mentioned. He

¹ Adv. Jud., cap. v.

defines it to be "heartly prayer from a pure conscience;"¹ elsewhere, "giving glory, and blessing, and praise, and hymns."²

Practically his explanation is the same as that of Irenæus; evidently he does not understand it to be any material offering in the Eucharist. Most valuable, however, is his description of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. No writer before him touches so largely and fully upon it. Speaking of the Christian assemblies for Divine worship, he commends the use of psalmody with prayers, and the responses of the congregation. He then declares that such kind of prayer, so saturated with psalmody, is like a well-fed sacrifice (*hostia*); but "this is the spiritual victim (*hostia*) which has blotted out the ancient sacrifices." Then referring to Isa. i. 11, to show the comparative meanness of the Jewish

¹ Contra Marc., lib. iv. cap. 1.

² Ibid., lib. iii. cap. 22.

sacrifices, just as Irenæus does in his book against heresies,—and to St. John iv. 23, for the right understanding of the new oblation of the Gospel,—he goes on to say, in imagery borrowed from the pagan rites of sacrifice: “We are the true worshippers, and the true priests (*sacerdotes*), who, praying in the spirit, do in the spirit sacrifice prayer proper and acceptable to God, such as He has required, and such as He has provided for Himself. This devoted from the whole heart, fed with faith, decked with truth, entire by innocence, clean by chastity, crowned with the feast of love (*agape*), attended with a train of good works, amidst the acclamations of psalms and hymns, we ought to bring to God’s altar.”¹ Thus, from the picture of a heifer or bullock, *well-fed* (*pastus*), *decked* (*curatus*), *entire* (*integer*), *clean* (*mundus*), *crowned* (*coronatus*), led up to the altar by the

¹ De Orat., cap. xxvii., xxviii.

sacerdos to be sacrificed, he describes the spiritual sacrifice of prayer.

With regard to the foregoing quotation there cannot be any reasonable doubt of its application to the Eucharistic service. The reference to psalmody, responses, the altar, and the Agape, which was known to be associated with and most probably then appended to it—*crowned*, as he fitly says,—leaves the matter beyond question. We see, therefore, the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice which continued to prevail in the opening years of the third century: it was “the sacrifice of pure prayer.”¹

¹ Ad Scap., cap. 2. *Vid.* Waterland, vol. vii. It is interesting to observe that Tertullian’s rhetorical claim to the name of a pagan sacrificing priest, *sacerdos*, was very soon adopted as an additional designation of the Christian presbyter, on the grounds that he alone, as the offerer of pure, unbloody, spiritual sacrifices, was the *true sacerdos*. The way for its general acceptance was, moreover, made easy by the triumph of Christianity over Paganism. Policy, as well as fitness, suggested the preservation and use of an official name so widely known and popular throughout the Empire; but it is of importance

About the middle of this century Origen is a witness of the same belief in Egypt and Palestine. He denies the existence of a material altar: and with the denial a material sacrifice is also excluded. Celsus had objected that Christians had no altars, and that they were ungrateful to the local deities in not paying due thank-offerings (*χαριστήρια*). Origen replied to the former reproach: "We regard the spirit of every good man as an altar, from which arises an incense which is truly and

to remember that the Church of that period applied the title to her ministers because they, together with the body of the faithful, were members of the "royal priesthood," elected "to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God" (1 Pet. ii. ; *vid.* Origen, Comm. in Joan; Lactantius, Ep. 158; St. Augustine, In Psalm 50, and De Civ. Dei; Cyril of Alex., Contra Jul., lib. x.; "Catechism of the Council of Trent," Donovan, p. 316; The ancient Ordinals.

An Anglican presbyter may, therefore, rightly call himself *sacerdos*, "sacrificing priest," *in the ancient Christian sense*; but, in consequence of the abuse of the word by the Latin Church, it would be more prudent to rest content with the older Christian title.

spiritually sweet-smelling, viz. prayers from a pure conscience ;” and then he refers to Rev. v. 8, and to Ps. cxli. 2.¹ And to the charge of ingratitude he replies : “ We are much more concerned lest we should be ungrateful to God, who has loaded us with His benefits, whose workmanship we are, who cares for us in whatever condition we may be, and who has given us hopes of things beyond this present life. And we have a symbol of gratitude to God in the bread which we call the Eucharist.”² Just before this, he had said : “ To Him to whom we offer firstfruits we also send up our prayers, ‘having a great High Priest that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son

¹ *Contra Cels.*, lib. viii. c. 17. Cf. St. Jerome : “ Every holy man hath in himself the altar of God, which is faith.” Also the declaration made in the Second Council of Nice (A.D. 787) : “ What ‘ sacrifice ’ or ‘ altar ’ meaneth, we, being Christian people, in a manner, cannot tell.” *Vid.* “ *Jewel’s Works*,” p. 735 (Parker Soc. edit.).

² *Ibid.*, cap. 57.

of God.'"¹ These extracts are important as showing that, up to the middle of the third century at least, the prominent thought in the celebration of the Eucharist was thanksgiving for God's goodness and mercies, especially for what He had done for the world in Christ.² The oblation of firstfruits and bread, the presentation to God of His own created things, was the sign of thankfulness, but the prayers and praises and blessings expressive of the grateful heart formed the true offering. "We offer," says Origen, with this subject in mind, "prayers, beseeching Him, who is the propitiation for our sins, to present, as the great High Priest, our petitions, and sacrifices, and supplications to God."³

Up to this point in the Church's history it may be definitely asserted that the

¹ *Contra Cels.*, lib. viii. c. 34.

² Wordsworth, "The Holy Communion," p. 136.

³ *Contra Cels.*, lib. viii. cap. 17.

Eucharist was simply regarded as a commemoration of the Lord's death, in which the faithful received all the benefits of that atonement, and also as a thank-offering of the whole Church for all the favours of God in creation and redemption. "The consecrated elements were regarded in a twofold light, as representing at once the natural and the spiritual gifts of God, which culminated in the self-sacrifice of Christ on the cross. . . . The earthly gifts of bread and wine were taken as types and pledges of the heavenly gifts of the same God, who has both created and redeemed the world. Upon this followed the idea of the self-sacrifice of the worshipper himself; the sacrifice of renewed self-consecration to Christ in return for His sacrifice on the cross, and also the sacrifice of charity to the poor."¹

¹ *Vid.* Schaff, "Ante-Nicene Christianity," p. 245; Bishop Wordsworth, "The Holy Communion," pp. 96, 97.

Second Period.—From the middle of the third century the idea of sacrifice with reference to the Eucharist as a commemoration and representation of the Lord's death began to assert itself. Cyprian of Carthage was the first to set the example. In one of his letters, reflecting upon the practice of certain Churches that used water instead of wine in the Communion Service, he insists upon the example of Christ's institution as necessary to the validity of the sacrament, and says: "For if Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, is Himself the High Priest of God the Father, and first offered Himself a sacrifice to the Father, and commanded this to be done in commemoration of Himself, then that priest (*sacerdos*) truly discharges his office in Christ's stead (*vice Christi vere fungitur*) who imitates what Christ did; and he then offers a true and complete sacrifice in the Church to God the Father, if he

begins so to offer according to what he sees Christ Himself to have offered.”¹ In the same letter he speaks of Jesus Christ as “the founder and teacher of this sacrifice,” but, at the same time, he affords a key to his meaning in such statements as: “the cup which is offered in remembrance of Him;” “in the priest Melchizedek we see prefigured the sacrament of the sacrifice of the Lord;” “and because we make mention of His passion in all sacrifices (for the Lord’s passion is the sacrifice which we offer), we ought to do nothing else but what He did; . . . as often, therefore, as we offer the cup in commemoration of the Lord and of His passion, let us do what is known the Lord did.”² Cyprian’s meaning is, therefore, by no means doubtful; the Eucharist is a commemoration of the Lord’s sacrifice, in which the Lord’s Passion, the great Sacrifice, is pleaded and set forth,

¹ *Epis.*, 62: Oxf. edit., 63.

² *Ibid.*

and consequently, by metonymy, it takes the name of what it commemorates and represents. The priest, accordingly, who *truly* and *completely* followed Christ's example in His use of the bread and wine (not water), did so far commemorate and plead a *true* and *complete* sacrifice; because with water only it was not a true and complete memorial. It should be noted that the words "oblation" and "sacrifice" had long before been used of the Eucharistic service, for reasons which have been already given, and so the use now before us only adds to the number; but it is one which eventually overshadowed the others. Cyprian, like the Fathers before him, still regarded the offerings of the congregation as sacrifices. They were sacrifices before presentation to God, and they were sacrifices after the blessing. His reproachful question to the rich, negligent woman shows this: "How could you come into

the Lord's House without a sacrifice, and eat part of the sacrifice which a poor person had offered?"¹

From this incident also, as well as from many of his Epistles, we learn that the people equally with him celebrated the sacrament. He asks this same woman "how she could think she celebrated the Lord's Supper, who had no respect to the Corban?"² This truth established itself in the ancient service-books, and remains yet in the Canon of the Mass of the Latin Church, a witness and a protest against special sacerdotal functions and miraculous power in the celebrant.³

¹ Bingham, lib. xv. cap. 2.

² Ibid.

³ Eastern Liturgies and early Roman Sacramentaries alike testify that the whole *Anaphora* beginning with the words "Lift up your hearts" constitutes the Eucharistic offering, and not that part only in which Christ's words of institution are repeated or commemorated. And this Eucharistic offering is shown to be the offering of the whole Church, and not that of the priest alone. Thus the Roman Canon has, not "I offer," but "we offer;" "we, Thy servants and Thy holy people" "those present for whom we offer, or who for themselves offer to Thee this sacrifice of praise."

As Cyprian is frequently appealed to by holders of extreme sacrificial views, it is important to know that his opinion of spiritual sacrifices was as high as those before him. Writing to some presbyters confined in prison, and, consequently, debarred from the Holy Communion, he says: "Neither your religion nor faith can suffer by the hard circumstances you are under, that the priests of God have not the liberty to offer and celebrate the holy sacrifices. You do celebrate, and you do offer unto God a sacrifice both precious and glorious, and which will much avail you towards your obtaining heavenly rewards. The Holy Scripture says, 'The sacrifice of God is a broken spirit, a broken and a contrite heart God doth not despise' (Ps. li. 17). This sacrifice you offer to God, this you celebrate without intermission, day and night, being made victims to God, and presenting yourselves as such,

holy and unblemished, pursuant to the apostle's exhortation, where he says, 'I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies,' etc. (Rom. xii. 1). For this is what pleases God, and it is this by which our other services are rendered more worthy, for the engaging the Divine acceptance. This is the only thing that our devout and dutiful affections can offer under the name of a return for all His great and salutary blessings; for so, by the Psalmist, says the Spirit of God: 'What shall I render, etc.' (Ps. cxvi. 12, 13, 15). Who would not readily and cheerfully take this cup?"¹ Here he distinctly teaches that spiritual sacrifices alone were equivalent, if not more so, to any offerings in the Eucharist; and from this the inference is clear that he had no idea of any sacrifice of the Archetype Himself in the celebration of the Lord's Supper.²

¹ Epis. 76, Oxf. edit. ² Cf. Waterland, vol. vii.

Cyprian's application of the word sacrifice to the act of commemoration as an act of pleading the Lord's passion was followed by several of the Fathers of the fourth and following centuries, but not to the exclusion of the other aspects of sacrifice. Its use became so popular that, in course of time, it came to be regarded as the only reason why the whole sacramental rite should be termed "the oblation"—"the sacrifice."¹ The earlier uses of the term, as expressive only of spiritual services, were lost, at any rate in the popular mind, and the idea of the Eucharistic Sacrifice was narrowed down to one meaning as denoting the representation of a sacrifice. It is easy to see that this narrowness would end in materializing the commemo-

¹ It is well to note that as late as the time of St. Augustine, the passion of Christ was said to be offered by the baptized in Baptism, and on this account *Baptism was called a sacrifice*. *Vid.* Gibson, "Preservative, etc.," vol. vi. pp. 281, 282, London, 1848.

rative offering, and so demand material accessories.

Cyprian's lead seems to have been slowly followed. More than a century passed before we find any Father as an exponent of the same line of thought. Meanwhile Lactantius and Eusebius in the first half of the fourth century emphasized the older aspect of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. The testimony of Lactantius is most explicit,¹ but I will not dwell upon it; I must be content to draw upon Eusebius, who, for his wide reading and knowledge of Christian history, and his connection with the Nicene Fathers, is a most

¹ Epist. clviii.: "What, therefore, does God desire from man, except the worship of a heart and mind, pure and holy? For those things which are done either by the hand, or which are extraneous to the man, are useless, weak, and displeasing. This is true sacrifice, not that which comes from the chest, but that offered from the heart; not what is poured out by the hand, but from the mind. This is the acceptable victim which the soul has immolated out of itself."

incomparable witness. He speaks of "the venerable sacrifices of Christ's table, by means of which officiating, we are taught to offer to God Supreme, during our whole lives, the unbloody, reasonable (or spiritual, λογικὰς), and to Him acceptable sacrifices, through His High Priest, who is above all."¹ A few lines further he explains these "unbloody, spiritual sacrifices" thus: "The prophetic oracles proclaim these incorporeal and spiritual sacrifices, 'Sacrifice to God a sacrifice of praise, and pay thy vows unto the Most High;' and again, 'A sacrifice to God is a troubled spirit.'"² It is important to notice that Eusebius is writing relative to the Eucharist, as the whole context shows. The incorporeal sacrifices, therefore, cannot apply to the sacred symbols, for they are corporeal. And this fact is further confirmed by his immediate quotation of

¹ Dem. Evang., lib. i. cap. 10.

² Ibid.

the prophecy of Malachi, and his explanation of the prophet's meaning, as *prayers* and *praises*. His comment upon the passage is as follows: "We sacrifice therefore to God Supreme a sacrifice of praise: we sacrifice the full and venerable and holy sacrifice: we sacrifice after a new way, according to the New Testament, the pure sacrifice; for the sacrifice to God is said to be a contrite spirit." Then he sums up in the following striking, remarkable words: "And this also another prophet teaches: 'Let my prayer come before Thee as incense;' therefore we both sacrifice and offer incense; first, celebrating the remembrance (*τὴν μνήμην*) of the great Sacrifice, according to the mysteries instituted by Himself, and offering the thanksgiving for our salvation to God by devout hymns and prayers. Next, we consecrate ourselves to Him and to the Logos, His High Priest, resting upon Him both in body and

soul.”¹ This is a most valuable account of the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper. The whole passage teems with sacrificial expressions, but they have reference only to the three following particulars : (1) the celebration of the remembrance of the Great Sacrifice, which is also the spiritual service of Christians, and, as such, a sacrifice in the primitive Church sense ; (2) the offering of thanksgiving and praise ; and (3) the reasonable sacrifice of body and soul of the faithful.

As it is important to establish beyond cavil this Father’s explanation of *unbloody sacrifices*, he clearly states, in another work, that “spiritual gifts and unbloody sacrifices will be offered up to God, both in the present life and in the life to come.”

¹ Dem. Evang., lib. i. cap. 10.

² Waterland, vol. vii. p. 381. On this subject Bishop Jewel wrote: “In respect of these gross and fleshly and bloody sacrifices, our Christian sacrifices in the Gospel, because they are more spiritual and proceed

It is, therefore, beyond all question that by *unbloody sacrifice* Eusebius did not

wholly from the heart, are called unbloody. Eusebius saith: 'We burn the incense of prayer, and we offer up the sacrifice that is called pure, not by shedding of blood, but by pure and godly doings.' So Chrysostom: 'We make our sacrifices, not by smoke, smell, and blood, but by the grace of the Holy Spirit.' He addeth further, "For God is Spirit, and he that adoreth Him must adore in spirit and truth.'

"And this is the unbloody sacrifice. So saith Eusebius: 'They shall offer unto Him reasonable (or spiritual) and unbloody oblations.' And the same he expoundeth, 'the sacrifice of praise.'

"Cyrillus calleth the prayers and melody of the angels and blessed spirits in heaven, continually praising and glorifying the name of God, 'unbloody sacrifices.' Again he saith, 'We, having left the gross ministry of the Jews, have a commandment to make a fine, thin, and spiritual sacrifice. And therefore we offer unto God 'all manner of virtues—faith, hope, and charity—as most sweet savours.' In like manner, the ministration of the Holy Communion is sometimes, of the ancient Fathers, called an 'unbloody sacrifice,' not in respect of any corporal or fleshly presence that is imagined to be there without blood-shedding, but for that it representeth and reporteth unto our minds that one and everlasting sacrifice that Christ made in His body upon the cross. Therefore Eusebius saith: 'We erect unto God an altar of unbloody and reasonable or spiritual sacrifices, according

mean the Eucharistic symbols, but the spiritual services of devout worshippers.

And here it is interesting, besides, to draw attention to the fact that, in the process of narrowing down the idea of sacrifice to the celebration of the Lord's Memorial, many of the epithets appropriately descriptive of the older view of spiritual sacrifices were applied to the later idea. Thus, the adjectives "unbloody" "reasonable," "pure" came to be used as if they were anciently applied to an external object. It is well, however, to

to the new mysteries.' Again: 'We burn a sacrifice unto God; that is, in the remembrance of that great Sacrifice.' Likewise, again: 'Christ offered up that marvellous sacrifice for our salvation, commanding us to offer a remembrance thereof instead of a sacrifice.'

"This remembrance and oblation of praises and rendering of thanks unto God for our redemption in the blood of Christ is called of the old Fathers an 'unbloody sacrifice,' and of St. Augustine, 'the sacrifice of the New Testament'" ("Jewel's Works," pp. 734-735: Harding Thess, P.S. edit.).

note that *they were originally limited to the spiritual offerings of the faithful.*¹

Consistently also with this process in the Roman Church, liturgical references to the offerings of the people, as sacrifices, were either omitted, or diverted, to accentuate the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharistic celebration. An illustration of this fact may be seen by comparing the Canons of Hippolytus, which date from the beginning of the third century, with the Canon of the Mass. According to the former, "the Blessing of the Oil and Firstfruits" occupied an important place in the Eucharistic service, and a prayer of thanksgiving was offered for them, but the Canon of the Mass omits all this. It has, however, at the beginning, references to "gifts, presents," etc.; and, at the end of the Consecration prayer, it makes mention of the "good

¹ *Vid.* especially the Byzantine Liturgy of the ninth century.

things" which the Lord is said to "always create," apparently applying the allusions to the elements before and after consecration respectively. Very suggestive, also, in the same direction is the fact that the frequent use of the expression "sacrifices of praise" (*hostiæ laudis*) in the Sacramentary of Leo., dating from the fifth century, does not appear in the Mass Canon at all in the old plural form. It is found in the singular form, "sacrifice of praise," and then it is used but once. But these changes have left the ancient Canon so inconsistent and ambiguous as to call for comment from such learned Romanists as Cardinal Bona,¹ his editor Sala, Bellarmine,² Duchesne,³ Pope Benedict XIV.⁴

The nominal conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity did much to give

¹ De Reb., lit. ii. cap. 13.

² De Missa.

³ "Origines du Culte Chrétien," p. 174.

⁴ Estcourt, "Anglican Ordinations," p. 332. Cf. Gibson's "Preservative, etc.," vol. ix. p. 267, ed., 1848.

prominence to the doctrine of a sacrificial memorial of the Lord's death. When Paganism was supreme, the position of Christianity was one of protest and contradiction. "The former system did not appeal to the heart, or reform the life. The heathen worshipper did not understand religion as a moral and spiritual influence. His only conception of it was as an elaborate system of sacrifices, lustrations, auspices ; a multiplication of shrines, and a multiplication of deities." His senses were gratified by external symbols, a pompous ritual, and appliances of art,—the temples, the paintings, the sculptures. Christianity, on the other hand, was as different from this as the poles. Its very mission was the destruction of this pagan spirit. Its simplicity in every respect marked it out in striking contrast as something of another world. Externally it contented itself with such places of

assembly as the upper rooms of private houses, open spaces, and the catacombs ; its ministers were content with the vestments of private life ; and it worshipped devoutly without elaborate services of any kind. The Christian, then, wanted neither marbled temple, nor decorated altar, nor pompous ritual. His ideal was to be in touch with the Most High ; his reliance was on the spiritual promises of his Master ; and his aim was to lay the foundations of a spiritual fabric.¹ But when Christianity supplanted Paganism as a State religion, its simple character underwent great modifications. With its wide-embracing arms it enfolded the whole people, from Cæsar to the meanest slave, but it received, at the same time, into its bosom vast deposits of foreign and corrupting material from the heathen world. Its

¹ *Vid.* Bishop Lightfoot, "Lectures on Christian Life in the Second and Third Centuries."

rise to sovereign authority,—its entrance upon the prerogatives of the pagan priesthood,—its inheritance of stately heathen temples, with all their suggestive appliances of sculpture, painting, and music, threw far into the background the simplicity, humility, and charity of the previous Christian Age. This wondrous change affected the primitive ideal of religious worship. It helped more than words can tell to transform the *sacramentum* of the Eucharist, with its spiritual sacrifices of praise, charity, self-devotion, and spiritual banquet, into a *sacrificium* pure and simple. Paganism truly had its revenge.¹

After the Nicene Age several of the Fathers dwell upon this sacrificial aspect

¹ *Vid.* “Hospitian’s Works,” vol. ii.; Maitland’s “Catacombs;” Gieseler’s Eccles. Hist., vol. iii. (edit. Clark); Elliott’s *Horæ Apoc.*, vol. i.; Middleton’s “Remarks on the Conformity between Popery and Paganism;” Calhill’s “Answer to Martial’s ‘Treaty of the Cross.’”

of the Eucharist in language apparently of a most realistic kind. Chrysostom, for instance, says: "Him who was nailed to the cross we also are about to see this very evening as a lamb slaughtered and sacrificed."¹ Again, "When you see the Lord sacrificed and lying there, and the priest standing over the sacrifice and praying, and all the people reddened with His precious blood."² But it is manifest that the description is merely figurative. It is the extravagant language of rhetoric. Not even the most ardent supporter of advanced sacrificial views would give to it a literal interpretation.³ Very probably

¹ De Cœn. et Cruc., ii. 401 (edit. Montf.).

² De Sacerd., i. 3.

³ "As time went on," says Dr. Heurtley, "in ages as yet ignorant of controversy on these subjects, language came, by a very natural and common figure, to be freely used of the memorial, which, in strictness, was proper only to that of which it was a memorial; of the symbol, which was proper only to that of which it was a symbol. Yet in the earliest Fathers, those who wrote antecedently

Chrysostom was stirred to indignation by the rising fashion of the people standing as gazers at a spectacle rather than sharers of a feast, and thus used unguarded expressions to move them to a realization of the sacred celebration. We know his bitter reproaches :¹ and also his lamentations : “ In vain is the daily sacrifice ; we stand at the altar for nought ; there is no one who communicates.”² But fortunately he has left us a decided key to his meaning, when, speaking of the sacrifice of our great High Priest, he declares emphatically : “ We perform a memorial of sacrifice.”³ Augustine also mentions Christ as being

to the middle of the third century, the distinction was sufficiently marked ; and even those later Fathers, when the occasion required them to measure their words and to speak with exactness, were not slow to correct such expressions, so as to guard themselves from being misunderstood ” (“ Sermons on Recent Controversy,” p. 54).

¹ *Vid.* Bingham, xv. 4.

² Hom. iii. cap. 3, in Ephes.

³ Hom. xvii. in Ep. ad Hebr.

immolated every day for the people, but he is careful to explain that he meant it figuratively, and that a memory of His passion was made.¹

“For if sacraments,” he says, “had not some likeness to the things of which they are sacraments, they would not be sacraments at all. From this likeness they generally receive the names of the very things.”² Elsewhere he declares that the sacrifice of the death of Christ is celebrated by the Sacrament of Memory.³ Yet rhetorical language of this sort, in the ears of people on the confines, as it were, of the pagan world, and so familiar with heathen notions of sacrifices, must, in spite of explanation, produce wrong impressions and encourage superstitious perversions.

¹ “Christus immolatur ; id est, Christi immolatio representatur, et fit memoria Passionis” (De Consec. Hist. 2). *Vid.* Gibson, “Preservative against Popery,” p. 70, etc.

² Ad Bonif., Ep. 98.

³ Contra Faustum, lib. xx. cap. 21.

Hence it came to pass that the pleading of Christ's passion in the Eucharist, or the offering to God's view the memorials of the Atoning Sacrifice, came to be regarded in a very *material sense*, as the offering of the very Christ Himself, and the chief purpose for which the sacred rite was instituted. And, again, as the first offering of Christ on the cross was propitiatory, so the materialized representation of it was believed to be also propitious and applicable to the living and the dead. This doctrine Gregory the Great was the first to teach.

Third Period.—In the third period of our division the materialization of the Eucharist took definite shape in Western Christendom. Paschasius Radbertus, monk of Corby, in the ninth century, boldly maintained that the offering of Christ in the Eucharist, originally meaning, as we know, the pleading of His passion, was the offering of the

same body of Christ which was born of the Virgin Mary. He was opposed by another Corby monk, Ratramnus, *alias* Bertram, who upheld the ancient Church teaching. In the discussions of the following centuries in the Western Church, the view of Radbertus ultimately prevailed, and culminated in the decree of the dogma of Transubstantiation in the thirteenth century. From this time, the doctrine was generally taught that the sacrifice of the Mass was *in itself* an atonement satisfactory, propitiatory, *ex opere operato*.¹ Though this statement has been repudiated as a calumny by the late Cardinal Newman,² its truth is well established.³

The Council of Trent in the sixteenth century completed the growth of Eucharistic teaching by declaring the Mass

¹ Vid. *Church Quarterly Review*, April, 1896.

² Vid. "Via Media," vol. ii. p. 325 (edit. 1885).

³ Vid. *Church Quarterly Review*, April, 1896.

sacrifice to be the propitiatory offering of the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity, of our Lord Jesus Christ; truly, really, and substantially.

Early in this period the sacramental character of the Lord's Supper as a spiritual feast for the refreshment of the souls of the faithful was almost lost in its sacrificial aspect. The peace and thank-offering of the primitive Church was superseded by a sin-offering. The congregational offering of the "mystical body" of Christ, as St. Augustine puts it,¹—that is, the oblation of themselves as members of Christ—was changed into a purely priest-offering. The sacrifice was all-engrossing; its *opus operatum* everything; the faithful receiving of the Body and Blood of Christ had little or nothing to do with it.

Changes of this kind necessitated new

¹ De Civit. Dei, lib. x. cap. vi.; Epis. 149, Ad Paulinum.

conceptions of the ministerial office and dignity. The sacrifice of the Church, so marvellous and stupendous, as it was then taught, called for a priestly caste with miraculous powers. The old *sacerdotium*, which Justin Martyr expressed by *προεστῶς* (president of the assembly), and Tertullian understood as the congregational priesthood, presenting spiritual sacrifices, was insufficient for the later Christian cult. It was, therefore, necessary to emphasize the new conception of the *sacerdotium* by additions to the rite of ordination, so as to make the ministerial function of sacrifice the dominant idea of the sacred office.¹

¹ The "Pontificale Romanum" to this day describes the ministerial functions thus: "Sacerdotem oportet offerre, benedicere, præesse, prædicare, et baptizare." It is to be noted that the first function is consistent with early Church teaching, and that "*offerre*" does not necessarily imply sacrifice in the mediæval and later sense. "The word *offerre*," said Bishop Reinkens and Prof. Friedrich, "is used, but indefinitely, without stating what is offered. The presumption is that it refers to the elements of bread and wine prior to the consecration" (Vid. *Guardian*,

The matter and form of ordination to the priesthood which had been in use for more than a thousand years, consisting only of prayer and the imposition of hands, and only with the intention of admitting to the presbyterate, without any reference whatever to sacrifice, was too meagre for the sacerdotal function of a mediæval priest.

Jan. 16, 1895, pp. 90, 91). There is good evidence that the second function, "benedicere," was anciently understood to mean the act of consecrating the elements offered. St. Ambrose says: "Ante benedictionem verborum cœlestium species nominatur, post consecrationem Corpus Christi significatur" ("De Initiandis," cap. ult.). The learned Casaubon, interpreting Justin Martyr's *ποιεῖν*, writes: "Benedictione et gratiarum actione consecrare in sacramentum Corporis Christi" (Ad B. A., xvi. 33). Bishop Cosin, "Ad presbyterorum preces et benedictiones, panis communis factus est panis sacramentalis" (Hist. Trans., cap. vi.). Cf. "et per obsequium plebis tuæ, panem et vinum in Corpus et Sanguinem Filii tui immaculata benedictione transforment;" in the prayer, "Deus, sanctificationum omnium auctor," prescribed in the Roman Pontifical for the ordination of priests. According to this fact *offerre* gives no support to the mediæval view of a real sacrifice of Christ in the Eucharist.

So the Ordinal was enlarged with the words "receive power to offer sacrifice to God, and to celebrate masses for the living and the dead," accompanied with the delivery of the sacred vessels, technically called the *porrectio*. These accretions, the Decree of Pope Eugenius IV., published in the Council of Florence, declares to be the matter and form of conferring the priesthood.¹

Therefore, for a thousand years, according to Pope Eugenius, there was no *sacerdotium* in the Church, and so, if the late Cardinal Newman's dictum is to be accepted as true, there was no Church in existence. The older Schoolmen, as St. Thomas Aquinas, under the impression that the *porrectio* was an ancient and primitive rite, recognized no other matter of ordination than the delivery of the instruments, and no other form than the words which

¹ Hardouin, vol. ix. col. 440.

accompany it. In this opinion they were followed by the later Schoolmen, who relied upon the decree of Eugenius, but its untenable character has been perceived by Roman Catholic theologians since the Reformation, and an attempt has been made, by no means satisfactory however, to explain away the decision of that Pope.¹

¹ *Vid.* Estcourt, "Anglican Ordinations," Appendix ; Hutton, "Anglican Ministry," Appendix, p. 489.

APPENDIX.

I. Ποιεῖν.

THE argument in favour of the sacrificial sense of this verb was ignored by the Tridentine Catechism;¹ ably refuted by the learned Romanist Picherellus, who wrote about 1562;² then declined by Bellarmine in reply to Calvin's ridicule of the argument,³ and rejected by Estius and other Roman Catholic theologians.

At the Council of Trent, Ataida, the divine of the King of Portugal, declared "that those words, 'Do this,' must unquestionably be understood of what they had seen Him do. We ought, therefore, first to know whether Jesus Christ offered, which not being certain amongst divines, who confess that both opinions are Catholic, those that deny that Jesus Christ offered, cannot conclude that by these words He ordained the apostles to offer."⁴

¹ De Euch., xx. *nota*.

² "Opuscula," p. 146, sqq., Lugd. Bat., 1629.

³ "De Missa," lib. i. cap. xii.

⁴ Du Pin, "Ecclesiastical History of Sixteenth Century," vol. iii. p. 561; ed. 1722, Dublin.

The theologian Melchior Canus has confessed that, when Christ said, “‘Do this,’ He plainly commanded His apostles that what they saw Him do they should do, also by offering up a sacrifice of Eucharist, that is, of giving of thanks.”¹

The sacrificial meaning of ποιεῖν finds no support in any of the Greek Fathers or Greek Liturgies. The Syriac Liturgies, following the Peshito version of 1 Cor. xi. 25, render “Do this,” as “Do thus.” The Ethiopic version renders Luke xxii., “*Thus* do ye My remembrance;” and 1 Cor. xi. 25, “Do *thus*, and when you drink remember Me.” So also four Syro-Jacobite Liturgies: (1) Dionysius Bar-Salibi, “He commanded them, saying, *Thus* do for My commemoration;” (2) St. John the Evangelist, “*Thus* shall ye do;” (3) St. Maruthas, “As ye have seen Me do, *thus* do;” (4) Thomas of Heraclea, “Take, use, and *thus* do.’”

The Greek Church, moreover, which ought to understand its own language, does not here take ποιεῖν in the sense of “offer,” but in that of “do.” The Greek priest says to the candidate for holy orders, “Thus did our Master Himself institute it, and *as He did*, at His mystical

¹ Loc. Theol., lib. xii.

Supper, so did He say that we also should do in remembrance of Him."

The following great scholars thus expound the phrase *τοῦτο ποιείτε*: Wolf says, "Non posse verti per *saerificate*," for which he gives his authorities; Bengel, "*ποιείτε*, facite, edite. *Facere* non habet hoc loco notionem sacrificalem." Sadeel writes, "Si in Christi verbis *Facite* significat sacrificare, et *Ἦος*, ad actiones Christi referendum est, tum circa panem, tum etiam circa calicem (quemadmodum illi volunt), ergo id quod Christus fecit sacrificandum est, et ipsæ actiones Christi sunt sacrificandæ. Ἄδυνατον, stultum, ridiculum." Dr. Heurtley says, "It is true that in some instances in the Septuagint the word is used in a sacrificial sense; yet this is never the case except where it is joined with some other word which requires it to be so understood."

Dr. A. Edersheim says: "The rendering 'Sacrifice this,' which is advocated as 'in accordance with Hebraistic use,' absolutely fails on Jewish grounds of interpretation. It is perfectly certain that no Jewish writer would in this connection have so expressed himself if he had intended to indicate a sacrificial act."

The word in the Septuagint is of general use,

most frequently meaning "to prepare, hold, keep," e.g. ποιεῖν πότον, ποιεῖν ἑορτήν, ποιεῖν δοχὴν ποιεῖν γάμον, ποιεῖν ἐδέσματα, ποιεῖν ἐπισιτισμὸν : see especially Gen. xviii. 7, 8.¹

In the face of all these well-known authorities it is pitiable to see the long-laid ghost of ποιεῖν revived and paraded in some modern Church manuals.

2. Ἀνάμνησις.

On the use of this word by our Lord some writers have based an argument for the divine institution of a sacrificial memorial in the Eucharistic celebration. This word is used twice in the Septuagint, viz. Num. x. 10; Lev. xxiv. 7; and it must be admitted that in these passages it has a God-ward reference, but it requires the addition of the phrase ἐναντι τοῦ θεοῦ, or ἐναντι Κυρίου, to give it this sense, and therefore the inference is clear, that, without such phrases, ἀνάμνησις of itself does not convey the meaning of a sacrificial memorial. The word also occurs once in the New Testament,

¹ Vid. Dimock, "Some Recent Teachings concerning the Eucharistic Sacrifice," p. 6; also "The Romish Mass and the English Church," pp. 100, 101.

outside the Gospels, viz. Heb. x. 3, but with no reference to the Eucharist. Its sense "of calling to remembrance" in the latter passage may be readily seen by a comparison of the use of the cognate participle and verb, in similar expressions, in Num. v. 15, ἀναμνήσκουσα ἁμαρτίαν, and 1 Kings xvii. 18, ἀναμνήσαι ἀδικίας μοῦ. Cf. Ezek. xxi. 23, and xxix. 16.

But there is a technical term in the Septuagint for a sacrificial memorial, and this is *μνημόσυνον*. It occurs in nine places of the Old Testament, and in three places of the Apocrypha, without any addition of *ἐναντι*, etc., such as *ἀνάμνησις* requires. These passages are Lev. ii. 2; ii. 9, 16; v. 12; vi. 15; Num. v. 15, 18, 26; Isa. lxvi. 3; Tobit xii. 13; Ecclus. xxxviii. 11; xlv. 21.

The word is also used with *ἐναντι*, or *ἐναντίον*, in Exod. xxviii. 12, 29; xxx. 16; Mal. iii. 6; Ecclus. l. 19; Acts x. 4, 31; Rev. xvi. 19, where the application of another sense other than its technical meaning is admissible. From the occurrence of *μνημόσυνον* in the New Testament it is manifest that its technical sense was familiar to the Evangelists, and consequently it is reasonable to infer that, if our Lord intended to institute a sacrificial memorial, He

would have selected the technical term *μνημόσυνον* for His purpose.

The Greek Fathers do not appear to have regarded *ἀνάμνησις* in a sacrificial sense, for they use it indifferently with *μνημόσυνον* and *μνήμη* to express the Lord's command, and the last word is certainly subjective in meaning. There is evidence in abundance to prove that the Fathers generally saw in *ἀνάμνησις* a reminder for those keeping the Christian Passover. Justin Martyr, speaking of the Eucharistic Service, says, "Μετὰ ταῦτα λοιπὸν ἀεὶ τούτων ἀλλήλους ἀναμνήσκομεν."¹ St. Chrysostom compares this *ἀνάμνησις* of the Lord's passion with the keeping of a commemoration of a deceased relative: "Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν υἱοῦ ἢ ἀδελφοῦ τετελευτηκότος ἀνάμνησιν ἐποίεις."² Similarly the author of the treatise "De Baptismo," formerly attributed to St. Basil the Great, regards the object of the Lord's Institution, "ἵνα ἐσθίοντές τε καὶ πίνοντες ἀεὶ μνημονεύωμεν τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντος," adding "ὁ γὰρ ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων, δηλονότι εἰς ἀνεξάλειπτον μνήμην τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντος."³ So Theodoret understands the aim

¹ Apol., sec. 67.

² Op., tom. x. p. 246 (edit. Montfaucon).

³ Op., lib. i. cap. iii. sec. 2 (edit. Garnier).

and object of the Lord's words, that "*we* may be reminded and *our* minds affected by the contemplation of the sufferings thus represented." ¹

The Greek Liturgies express obedience to the Lord's words by *μνησθέντες*. The Coptic Liturgy of St. Basil has the words, "Quotiescumque manducabitis . . . *meique memores eritis donec veniam.*" ² So in several of the Liturgies, Western as well as Eastern, the *memory* has relation, not only to Christ's sacrifice upon the cross, but also to His Ascension and Second Advent, which admit of no Godward *sacrificial* memorial. Compare also the "*Unde et memores*" of the Western Liturgies, which follow the words of institution, and conclude with "in mei memoriam facietis." The Ambrosian form is especially noteworthy, "*Mandans* quoque et dicens ad eos: Hæc quoties cunque feceritis in meam commemorationem facietis," etc., followed by "Unde et memores sumus, Domine, nos servi tui," etc.

Most conclusive of all is the interpretation of *ἀνάμνησις*, given in the following words of the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 754: "Κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ ἔκουσιου πάθους εἰς τύπον καὶ

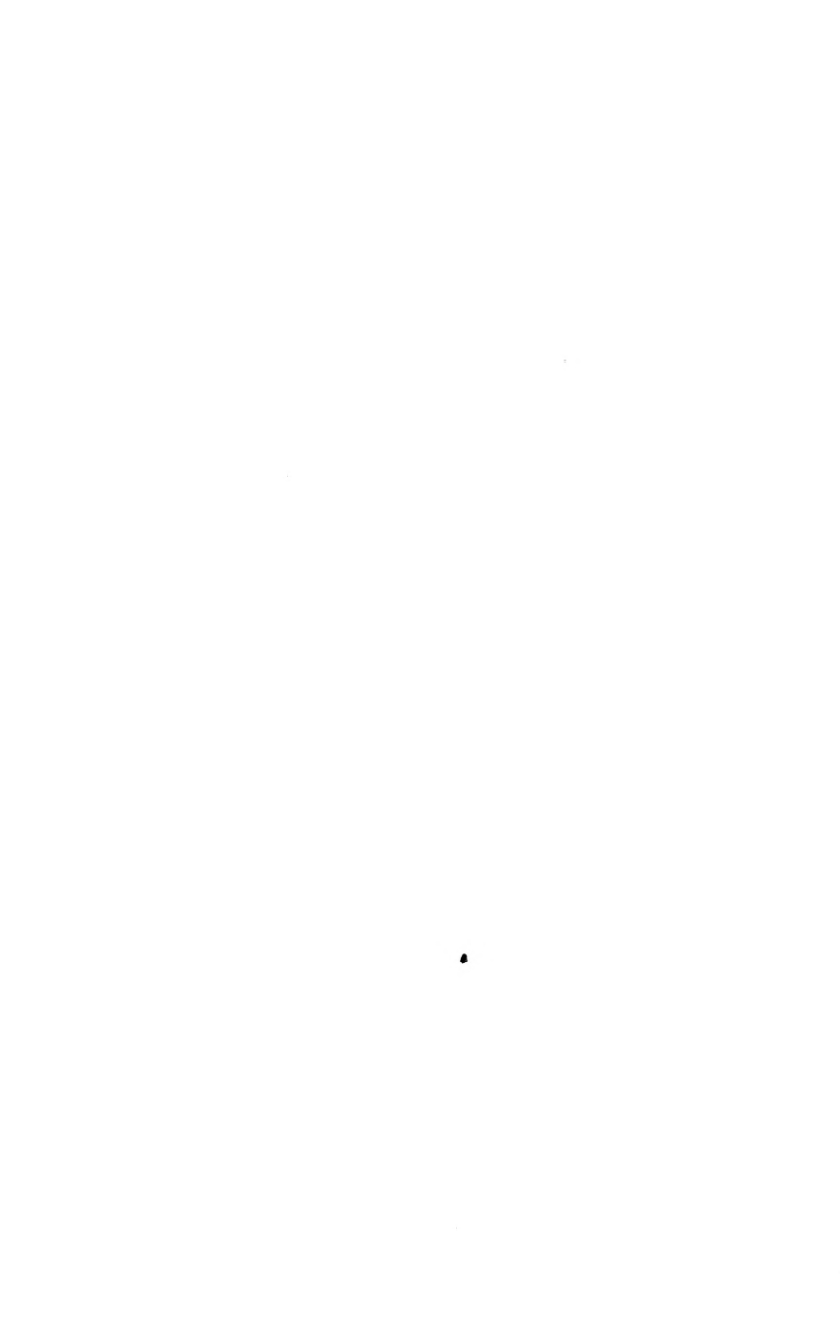
¹ In Epis. Heb. viii. ² Renaudot, tom. i. p. 15.

ἀνάμνησιν ἐναργεστάτην τοῖς αὐτοῦ μύσταις παρα-
 δέδωκε . . . τι γὰρ ἐμηχανήσατο ἐν τούτῳ ὁ
 πάνσοφος θεός; οὐχ ἕτερον τι, ἢ δεῖξαι καὶ
 τρανώσαι φανερώς ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ πραγμά-
 τευθεν μυστήριον ἐν τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν οἰκονομίᾳ.”¹

In adducing the foregoing evidence of the meaning of ἀνάμνησις, as commonly understood by the ancients, it is right to admit that the Fathers, after Cyprian, certainly taught that the atoning sacrifice of Christ is pleaded before God in the service of the Eucharist, as it is in every prayer to Him; but this is a very different thing from regarding it as a sacrificial memorial.”²

¹ Mansi, tom. xiii. caps. 261, 264.

² *Vid.* Dimock, “Some Recent Teachings,” etc., and “The Eucharist considered in its Sacrificial Aspect.”



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